Vol. CIII No. 9 April 23, 1976 60 cents

commonweal

COLLEGE FOR THE POOR

MAURICE R. BERUBE

UNION MUSCLE IN SCHOOLS

RUSSELL W. GIBBONS

Education Issue

SISYPHUS
ABIGAIL McCARTHY
COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.
DAVID S. TOOLAN

ALSO: ANNE FREMANTLE, JOHN FLUDAS, DENNIS VELLUCCI

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"A proposal to have the federal government finance political activities—especially party activities—would have lasted about five minutes at the Constitutional Convention. It would have been rejected as a repudiation of the basic theory of democracy. One-hundred and eighty-seven years later, the proposal is still contrary to the theory of democracy—and also I believe, unconstitutional."

—Eugene McCarthy
"Campaign Dollars and Sense"
in *Commonweal*
17 January 1975

"The hierarchical church, we suggest, has lost its members by refusing to listen to them, by refusing to respect the integrity of their consciences, by failing to see the degree to which the consensus of good and sincere people is itself a guide to the moral law . . . until this distance between preacher and listener is closed, the word of God will not take place in the lives of men and women."

—Editorial
"The Crisis"
in *Commonweal*
2 January 1976

"As you can tell from John Huston's *The Man Who Would Be King* and Sam Peckinpah's *The Killer Elite*, the life of an adventurer has never been an easy one. It is as hard now as it was in the nineteenth century, when Huston's film, which is based on the Rudyard Kipling short story, is set. Yet judging from the two tales, it would seem that among soldiers of fortune there must at least be a kind of tribal wisdom, a capacity for inherited experience. How else can one explain how men who would be kings settle at last for being members of the killer elite instead?"

—Colin L. Westerbeck, Jr.
"The Screen"
in *Commonweal*
30 January 1976

"Recently, President Ford sought to beckon self-anointed congressional foreign-policy makers into the 'non-partisanship' tent, but no one entered. . . . The debts of 'bi-partisanship' foreign policy following World War outweigh the assets in the minds of an increasing number in Congress—many of whom were adolescents or younger, when Presidents ruled the foreign-policy roost during the Berlin airlift, the Korean war and the landing of American troops in Lebanon."

—Sisyphus
"Washington Report"
in *Commonweal*
14 March 1975

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NEWS & VIEWS

Graham Greene

For the past half-dozen years, Graham Greene has been writing a second volume of autobiography through introductions to his Collected Edition. Volume 15, 16 and 17 have recently been published in England—*The Man Within; The Third Man/ Loser Take All*; *The Comedians*. In its March 26 issue, the *Times Literary Supplement* combed the new introductions for Greene revisionisms.

The discoveries are minor and only mildly interesting for what they reveal about Greene. *The Man Within*, for instance, was dedicated in 1929, "For Vivien My Wife in Wonder," followed by a verse from Thomas Hardy. Now the dedication reads, tersely: "For Vivien." But then most everyone knows about that marriage.

However, at least one of the revisions, in *TLS*'s opinion, is 'rather odd.' This is the omission from the new introduction to *The Third Man* of credit for that marvelous piece of dialogue spoken in the movie by "Harry Lime" about Swiss cuckoo clocks.

In the preface to the 1950 book, Greene revealed that the passage was written into the script by Orson Welles, who, of course, played the part of Harry Lime. Now Greene is silent about the authorship.

Anyone who ever saw *The Third Man* film has a memory of the scene on the Praterwheel circling perpendicular to Vienna, and those lines of Harry Lime addressed to Holley Martins. *TLS* did not quote them; they're not readily available actually, being in neither the 1950 nor the new text of the book. Ah, but I have them, having sat through several late-night shows years ago to get them down on paper. This was Orson Welles playing Graham Greene and momentarily matching him at his own craft:

"When you make up your mind, send me a message—I'll meet you any place, any time. And when we meet, old man, it's you I want to see, not the police. . . . And don't be so gloomy. . . . After all, it's not that awful. You know what the fellow said: In Italy for 30 years under the Borgias they had warfare, terror, murder, bloodshed—and they produced Michelangelo, Leonardo de Vinci, and the Renaissance. In Switzerland they had brotherly love, 500 years of democracy and peace, and what did they produce? The cuckoo clock. So long, Holley."

Greene, by the way, amplifies on his changing of the hero's name from Rollo Martins, as written in the novel-scenario, to Holley Martins on screen. In the original introduction, Greene said that Joseph Cotten, who played the part of Martins, "quite reasonably objected to the name of Rollo. The name had to be an absurd one, and the name of Holley occurred to me when I remembered that figure of fun, the American poet Thomas Holley Chivers."

Now Greene gives it to us straight: "Joseph Cotten quite reasonably objected to the name Rollo, which to an American ear apparently involved homosexuality." Greene came to view this Cotton objection unsympathetically, adding a parenthetical aside — "by God knows what association of ideas"—in reflecting on it in another context. However, he abandons the aside—perhaps significantly — in the new introduction.

Other tidbits of Greeneliana from *TLS*'s culling:

—Greene enlivened a 1948 visit of Elizabeth Bowen to Vienna by arranging for the police to raid a night-club where he was entertaining her. (Maybe you have to have known the prim Miss Bowen to appreciate that anecdote.)

—When Jacques Maritain chose *The Man Within* (1929) for a series he was editing, he asked Greene to tone down a sex scene for the French translation. (Greene's reaction was one of delight, not outrage.)

—The model for "Mr. and Mrs. Smith," the vegetarian missionaries of *The Comedians*, was "a charmingly naive American couple" who had come to Haiti to teach silk-screen painting to the natives. (Greene recalls visiting a brothel in Port-au-Prince with "Mr. Smith," who proceeded to make drawings of unoccupied ladies as a pair of astonished Tontons Macoute looked on.)

Incidentally, Greene lets on that for years after his last visit to Papa Doc Duvalier's paradise, he used to dream that he was back in Haiti incognito.

"Not without good reason," adds *TLS*, "for Duvalier circulated a document around the world denouncing the author of *The Comedians* as 'a liar, a *crétin*, a stool-pigeon . . . unbalanced, sadistic, perverted . . .'"

Merton Artifact

An autographs and documents house—Walter R. Benjamin of Hunter, N.Y.—is offering a single-spaced, two-page typed letter of Thomas Merton, signed "Fr. M. Louis" and carrying a four-line, handwritten postscript.

The letter is dated Aug. 5, 1953, and opens with news about a fire in an abbey building at Gethsemani, in which Merton himself was slightly burned.

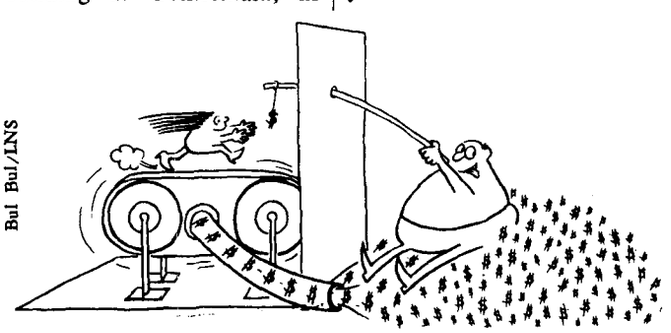
The catalogue description proceeds with a quote from the letter:

"*. . . about what you said in the first letter on saying the rosary—sure, the feeling of peace one gets from praying like that is not ultimate. It is a means to keep us occupied with God, that is all. You would be making a big mistake if you thought that some higher or purer interior experience would be more truly ultimate. No experience of ours can put us in immediate contact with God Who is always beyond experience. What we have to do is be able to make any interior experience a springboard for jumping off into the 'beyond' where He remains hidden. And that means we must trust Him to lead us and show us what He wants of us. I sum the whole thing up by saying that you need to put the emphasis on faith in Him, and not on a technique of prayer. With faith as our starting point, we can let ourselves be led by His Spirit into His own ways. . . .*"

"An extraordinary letter in every way," says the catalogue. And an extraordinary price: with envelope and carbon of a poem entitled *An Elegy for the Monastery Barn*. . . . $200.

Odds and Ends

—The spirit of Lent lives on in St. Joseph, Mo. Les' Restaurant and Cocktail Lounge is advertising a Wednesday and Thursday "Lenten Special": for $2.95, a glass of wine, and all the strip sirloin or U.S. prime you can eat. JOHN DEEDY



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CORRESPONDENCE

People of God

Rolling Hills Est., Ca.

To the Editors: George A. Lindbeck's well-meant generalizations in "The Catholic Crisis" [Feb. 13] regarding contemporary Catholicism hardly fit the religion which permeates the culture and the consciousness of the Hispanic people (who comprise one-third of the Catholics in the United States).

There seems to be a preference among Protestants for a singular type of Christian model, which could rarely represent more than the ten percent that Lindbeck estimates of any but a specialized congregation, certainly not one that includes a broad spectrum of humanity.—Humanity! That's the issue. Catholics still have faith in the organic gracing of human culture as an extension of the incarnation of Christ. Those masses, so quickly scanned in the article are for us "the people," the people of God. It is that profound Christianity for which *they* bear an almost unshakable attachment through every variety of human vicissitude, which forms the ground for the hoped for and needed renewal.

ADRIAN TORRES

Abortion Opposed

Bronx, N.Y.

To the Editors: After reading your editorial, "Politics and Abortion" [Feb. 27], one must question *Commonweal*'s grasp of the nature of change in the democratic state. It is noted that there is not a broad "ecumenical grass-roots opposition to abortion" and that in fact a strong support for a woman's right to an early-term abortion does exist. How these facts demand our resignation to the legal straitjacket of the Supreme Court's abortion decision escapes me.

Commonweal, with its widely respected record as a fighter of social injustice, must know by now that political majorities must be worked at.

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ILLUSTRATIONS: *front cover: Richard Bennett/LNS*

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COMMONWEAL

A review of Public Affairs, Literature and the Arts. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Printed in the USA and published bi-weekly by Commonweal Publishing Co., 232 Madison Ave.; New York, N.Y. 10016; telephone: (212) MU 3-2042. *Copyright © 1976 Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc.* *—US and Canada: $15 a year. Foreign $17. Single copies 60c.*

Commonweal is indexed in Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature, Catholic Periodical Index, and Book Review Digest. Microfilms from Vol. 1, 1924, to date available through University Microfilms; 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Mich.; 48106. National Serials Data Program No.: ISSN 0010-3330.

GREELEY ET AL.

There is a theory that there are at least two Andrew Greeleys, and this theory is obviously correct. There is Andrew the Bad, fractious and iconoclastic, writing a syndicated column every hour on the hour, assaulting various and sundry of his fellow-citizens, especially his fellow-Catholics, regularly belaboring *Commonweal* and what he calls *Commonweal* types, and in general making enemies and influencing people, all in the name of good unclean fun. Then there is Andrew the Good, a sober social scientist given to scholarly works heavy with statistics and tables and studded with insightful observations, marred by no sin worse than occasional lapses into sociology-speak. Lately, Andrew the Bad has been even more quarrelsome than usual, but here we are concerned with the work of the other, nobler Andrew. He and collaborators William C. McCready and Kathleen McCourt, all of the Chicago-based National Opinion Research Center, have just produced a new statistic-packed volume, *Catholic Schools in a Declining Church* (Sheed & Ward, $15), and it would be regrettable if Catholic leaders let possible prejudice against Andrew the Bad keep them from taking the book seriously. We plan a regular review of the volume in due course, but we can now say that the points made by Greeley, McCready and McCourt, presented in scholarly rather than popular fashion, deserve study not only by those concerned specifically with Catholic education but by those seriously concerned with the quality of Catholic life in this country.

The new study is based on two NORC representative national samples of American Catholics, one taken in 1963, before the end of Vatican II, and the other in 1974. Two major thrusts of the study are easily summarized. First of all, popular support for Catholic schools continues to be high, and this despite the dramatic decline in Catholic practice over the last ten years. Secondly, the decline in Catholic devotion and commitment since 1965 is not due to the Vatican Council but to *Humanae Vitae*, the 1968 encyclical reaffirming official condemnation of birth control—which in dollars and cents terms is estimated to have cost over one billion dollars in lost contributions. Contrary to some opinion, the authors of this study report

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that Vatican II had a strong, positive effect on religious practice, but that this effect was undone by the papal stand on birth control. As for Catholic schools, parents in some areas are disaffected, but the NORC investigation argues that these are not numerous enough to justify the phasing-out of Catholic schools that is under way, in fact if not in theory. Indeed, says the study, two-thirds of the fall in Catholic school enrollment is due precisely to the failure to build new schools in the suburban areas to which Catholics have moved in large numbers during the years since the end of Vatican II. Fully 90 percent of American Catholics favor the continuation of Catholic schools, and 80 percent would increase their contributions in order to sustain them, it is asserted. The NORC authors estimate that almost two billion dollars in potential annual support has not been tapped. Furthermore, the study rates Catholic education as a key component in such matters as attitude toward having a son a priest, participation in Catholic organizations, and the like. "Paradoxically, it would seem that Catholic schools may be more important to the church in a time of crisis than they were in a time of stability," say the NORC researchers. "Hence it is ironic that school construction should cease just at the time the schools could make their most important contribution."

These are only a few of the central findings in a study containing many provocative and often surprising conclusions. It should perhaps be emphasized that they do not represent free-floating Greeley-McCready-McCourt opinions but interpretations of data gathered in extensive in-depth interviews around the United States. Says Father Greeley, for example, on the current decline in Catholic practice: "We don't speculate that the cause of the Catholic decline was the birth control decision, nor do we simply assert it. We prove it with the kind of certainty one rarely attains in historical analysis." Not all will share Greeley's certainty on this and other points, particularly perhaps those in areas where parental support for parochial schools seems to have evaporated, and scholars may take issue on any and all of the findings of the study. What they, and the Roman Catholic bishops, should not do is ignore it—although, as Andrew the Bad would be the first to point out, that is almost certainly what they will do.

JOHN COGLEY—R.I.P.

On March 28 John Cogley died in Santa Barbara, California, at age 60. An editor of this magazine from 1949 to 1955 and a columnist in these pages until 1964, Mr. Cogley went on to become a member of the staff of the Fund for the Republic, later the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, founding editor of that organization's *Center Magazine*, and religious news editor of the *New York Times*. Called by many the outstanding religious journalist of his time, in 1973 he joined the Episcopal Church, later becoming a deacon in that church and at the time of his death awaiting ordination to the priesthood. He was always a dear friend as well as a valued colleague, and he will be sorely missed by all here. We extend our sympathy to his wife, six children and four grandchildren.

In tribute to his memory, we plan to present in a coming issue excerpts from his work in this magazine over the years.

WASHINGTON REPORT

A DESERVED VETO

Jerry Ford vetoes a lot of bills sent him by the Congress, where there are more Democrats than there are his fellow Republicans. More than four-dozen vetoes are his during the twenty-one months of his presidency—since August, 1974 when he succeeded his impeached predecessor who is commuting these days between San Clemente, his current home in this country, and Peking. Ford has vetoed bills he should have signed into law. But, in the doing, he's shown, for better or worse, he isn't reluctant to exercise this presidential power of his. In other words, he's willing to take his knocks without using federal police to discredit opponents.

In fact, however, Ford's correct. Earlier this month, he was certainly both correct and right. He said "no" to a greedy bill to remove protections for civilian employees of the executive branch of the federal government—nearly 3 million of them—against political pressures to support, or not support, candidates for federal office, particularly for president. Of course, proponents of this harmful bill—congressional Democrats and federal employee unions with an exception or two—put it another way. The bill, they point out, would permit federal civilian employees to take part in politics, as do Americans working, e.g., for General Motors (or *Com-*

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monweal). Were the bill to become law, its supporters also point out, federal employees could then run for local, state and federal offices as Democrats and Republicans.

Actually, supporters of the bill didn't expect it to survive a Fordian veto. The bill had needed only a majority to be approved in both the House and Senate. However, of course, the bill needed support by two-thirds of both the Houses and Senate members voting to override the President's veto. The bill, based on the same members voting on overriding the veto as voted to pass the bill in the first place, was short six votes in Senate and 29 in the House.

Some Democrats in Congress sensibly voted against passage of the bill in the first place, Senators Proxmire and Ribicoff, among them. In response to a heavy mail, the senators from Maryland and Virginia voted against the bill because their constituents, who work for the federal government in the Washington, D.C., area, oppose the bill, which was designed to repeal the Hatch Act.

Proponents of the repealer bill argued that federal employees should have the complete array of political rights that others have. This sounds attractive—and fair. However, there's more to it than that.

A reading of the record shows that the Roosevelt administration in the late 1930s expected the increasing number of federal employees to sing for their supper. These employees were expected to show their loyalty (and thanks for their being hired) by working for New Deal candidates. This took time from the jobs for which they were ostensibly hired. To defy supervisors who gave them political tasks was to risk being out on the street again in the country's worst Depression ever —25 percent of the labor force being jobless at one point. WPA brass in towns around Boston were shown to be spending all their working time—and weekends—on political matters.

The brave complained to their elected representatives in the Congress. As happens in such matters, the legitimate complaints were seized upon by opponents of Roosevelt, including Democrats such as Senators Carl Hatch of New Mexico and Millard Tydings of Maryland and Vice President John Garner of Texas. The latter professed to be concerned that Roosevelt was running for a third-term as president. No one, of course, ever had been elected three times as president. Legitimate grievances were translated into remedial law, the (Carl) Hatch Act. The law came into being in part by strong action on the part of FDR's severest critics in the Congress.

From time to time, since the first years of the Republic, there have been efforts to curtail activities of federal employees paid to work not to politick. In 1801, Thomas Jefferson, as President, said he "has seen with dissatisfaction officers of the general government taking on various occasions active parts in the election of public functionaries. . ." A presidential circular, aimed at discouraging such activities, was issued. Obviously, the activities did not stop, because Jefferson wrote three years later to a member of his Cabinet: "I think the officers of the federal government are meddling too much with the public elections."

In the late 1930s, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) funded 3 million public jobs, almost as many jobs as there were Americans in Jefferson's time. The investigatory Sheppard Committee, established by the Senate, reported authenticated cases of political coercion by WPA "supervisors" in ten states. In 1939, Roosevelt himself sent to Congress a message urging that WPA employees be protected against political arm-twisting. The Hatch Act prohibits federal employees from using official authority or influence to interfere with an election. Beyond that, it prohibits such employees from taking an "active part in political management or political campaigns." State and local government employees were also subject to the Hatch Act, although restrictions upon them were materially lifted two years ago.

Congress can impose restrictions on those in public employment in order to assure an uninterrupted, impartial civil service whose keystones are integrity and efficiency. The Supreme Court three years ago ruled the Hatch Act was constitutional. The majority of the justices took the position that no constitutional provision, including the First Amendment, prohibits the Congress from passing a law to bar federal employees from political conduct. In its decision this majority said it is in the best interest of the country, "indeed essential, that federal service should depend upon meritorious performance rather than political service and that the political influence of federal employees on others and on the electoral process should be limited."

Opponents of the Hatch Act carelessly talk about the act making "second-class citizens" of federal employees. The Hatch Act permits federal employees to talk, write and drink political opinions. It permits them to contribute money to political campaigns—primary and general. One witness pointed out in testimony on the legislation virtually to repeal the Hatch Act that, in fact, it permits federal employees about as much political activity as the average citizen engages in generally.

The only way to prevent coercion of federal employees is to prohibit them from being able to take part in certain partisan political activities, as is now forbidden. If these prohibitions are removed, what will happen soon is that permitted activities will become required. And then . . . the so-called Malik manual written during the Nixon administration. Again, the majority opinion in the 1973 Supreme Court decision said it best: it has been "the judgment of Congress, the Executive and the country that partisan political activities by federal employees must be limited if the government is to operate effectively and fairly . . ." SISYPHUS

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PURVEYORS OF THE DREAM

ABIGAIL McCARTHY

Readers of *Commonweal* who are not as indiscriminate and omnivorous readers as I may see no significance in the recent Congress of Presidents held in New York and sponsored by *Good Housekeeping* magazine. But it was an important meeting. The Congress was to launch what the magazine called "an ambitious and unique new program" involving women leaders of America's foremost organizations and institutions. The program is to be called "Women in Passage" and its purpose is to produce "through a continuing dialogue among these leaders, a faithful assessment of how most American women feel about today's—and tomorrow's—'passage' for women."

What was actually happening, of course, was that a mass circulation women's magazine was setting about the task of finding out where mainline women "were at" in the hope of directing its own appeal accordingly and—one supposes, since *Good Housekeeping* is only one part of a large publishing empire, Hearst Publications—having some effect on the direction women will take.

It is almost a hundred years ago that women's magazines began to flower in this country as a result of the discovery that women were the prime consumers of goods and services. By serving the needs of women these magazines became great selling agencies. But it would be quite unfair to call them just that. They were necessary to women. They were a means of communication. They helped the woman in the upwardly mobile family, and the immigrant woman to learn how to dress, how to prepare nourishing food for her family, how to adjust to her world. They were an outlet for women writers. The development of the advertising artist, illustrator, and commercial photographer depended on their market.

Between 30 and 40 years ago these magazines began to abandon romantic fiction in favor of articles of self-revelation—interviews with, and articles about, celebrities and case history features such as "Can This Marriage Be Saved?" They went along this path so rapidly that at one point a critic called them the "genteel pornographers." Nevertheless, those who have dismissed them grandly as beneath their notice have missed a lot and know little about the woman's side of American life.

No doubt we women are right to complain about having been led down the primrose path of consumerism; serious sociologists ascribe the dubious position of woman in American life to a concerted effort on the part of American Business to reduce women to consumers only. But before the stimulation of desire became the highly manipulative art it is today, these magazines provided a chart in an uncharted world and some had much more sense of responsibility than others. *Good Housekeeping*, for most of its ninety-one years, was one of the latter. Cynical exposés of the Good Housekeeping Institute and its Seal of Approval have been written, but the magazine did maintain standards for the products it advertised. Women had confidence in its certification of a product and, for the most part, their confidence was justified. There was something to be said simply for the setting of standards. The Institute was well run. One had the feeling that Willie Mae Rogers who headed it for many years and Charlotte Montgomery who writes an investigating consumer's column and many other women who worked at *Good Housekeeping* had the interests of women—of all readers—at heart. The basic premise has always been that there can be a happy marriage between American enterprise and the American dream. And that everyone will eventually share the dream.

There was some sharp questioning of this premise during the conference for those who had ears to hear. Olga Madar, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, said that the "democratization" of women's organizations meant nothing unless it included the training of grass roots women in the skills of community development and political action. Never in their memory had women made breakthroughs in times of economic scarcity for workers. At the present time we are being kept ignorant of the real statistics of unemployment. The averages do not tell the story. There were much higher rates of unemployment among youth, minorities and women, and excessive unemployment in the central cities. "All of us have a right to work—all of us have a right to a more meaningful life . . . the economic short-changing of women at the work place is being perpetuated by economic powers." Artificial barriers are being perpetuated. "We are being pitted against each other—male versus female, old versus young, black versus white, black sister versus black brother. . .," she concluded.

Lourdes Miranda King, president of the National Conference of Puerto Rican Women, had bleak statistics about the distance between the citizens of Hispanic origin and the dream. Over 54 percent of Hispanic origin women make less than $3,000 a year; over 11 percent are unemployed. Fifteen percent of Hispanic households are headed by women. Among those of directly Puerto Rican origin, 33 percent are headed by women. Sixty-seven percent of them are living below the poverty level.

Kathleen Nolan, president of the Screen Actors Guild, had hard things

(Continued on page 285)

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COLLEGE FOR THE POOR

MAURICE R. BERUBE

The inequality gap in education

The average middle-class young American attends some form of college. The average poor youngster does not and cannot.

Why? The answer is complex, involving subtle and interacting forces of social background and education policy. But there are two major deterrents to explain why that average poor youngster cannot look forward to college. First, his family cannot afford to send him to college. And, second, the chances are that the colleges would not accept him because of a competitive overflow of applicants which impels administrators to create artificial barriers screening out students. The net result is clear: a large segment of our manpower resources goes untapped and festers, and the inequality gap increases.

It is virtually impossible for the poor youngster to gain entrance to college. The tuition and living cost at a state university totals some $2,000-$2,500 per year; for a private university some $5,000 per year. That prohibitive amount rules out the welfare and working-class poor.

And the financial strains on the lower-middle-class youngster are also severe. Few heads of families make the necessary $20,000 to maintain a minimal home with one wife and two teenage children. Those that do frequently have wives who work in order to raise the additional necessary capital to send children to the State University. For the poor black family on welfare or making less than $5,000, however, even that lifestyle appears abundant. The costs of college are so great that unions have taken some steps by creating scholarship funds for its lower- and middle-class workers. These efforts, however, are merely piecemeal.

Free tuition was a policy practiced by City University of New York and the California system. California did away with free tuition approximately five years ago. Now it seems that City University will have some form of tuition in the near future.

The open admissions policy of New York's City University—instituted five years ago—guarantees a place to every graduating high school senior. Now that policy is being scrapped because of New York City's precarious financial position. A few years ago New York was typical of other cities, despite its tuition-less university, in terms of educating its college-age population. It conformed to national norms enrolling 57 percent of college age population in some form of higher education. Now approximately three out of every four New York high school graduates attend an institution of higher learning. Most, however, are from lower-middle-class homes averaging between $10,000 and $15,000. Only some 15 percent of the CUNY student body can be classified as poor with families earning under $6,000. New York families that earn upwards of $15,000 send their children to state or private universities out of the city.

Initially, the urban university was an upper- and later a middle-class institution. The first free public municipal university, City College of New York, for example, extended educational opportunities to the emerging urban middle-class. Most of City's 19th century students were the sons of the middle-class: merchants, grocers, carpenters, physicians, lawyers and so on; in the first few years the largest occupation group of fathers was mer-

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chant. And one year prior to the founding of City College, out of a New York City population of a half million the only two colleges—and private at that—enrolled a grand total of 247 students. In 1870, 1.7 percent of college-age people were enrolled in institutions of higher learning.

Historically, college was the preserve of a leisure class, without particular academic merit. College faculties would educate the sons and daughters of the rich into good citizens without concern for their academic potential. The poor, alas, were something else. In order to qualify for a college education, they had to show merit. Thus, in the 19th century, American college presidents devised the scholarship scheme—for bright poor youngsters—as a means of entering the privileged academic groves. But the not-so-bright poor were never to be so fortunate as to join this Calvinistic elect.

These same attitudes persevere today. The meritocratic conception of education only superficially appears egalitarian. In reality it resembles most the harsh Calvinism of our Puritan forebears, which sanctified the status quo: the gifted and well-to-do who succeed possess an inner grace, whereas the less gifted and less affluent who fail were so destined. By not helping the least able, meritocracy merely sanctions the results of a race that was fixed to begin with.

Nor did the private universities seek out the poor as students. Harvard's President Charles Eliot felt that the carpenter's son should be a carpenter, and higher education was not meant for him. Some sentiment existed, to create people's colleges that would "teach the children of the poor to rise by their wisdom and merit into stations hitherto occupied by the rich." But for the most part these intentions came to little. America was not prepared to offer its urban citizens the university opportunities it could offer its agricultural residents.

The dominant university, privately owned and controlled, sanctified meritocracy. Only the affluent could afford (save the "charity students" on scholarship) to attend college. And the Supreme Court in 1819, in the famous Dartmouth College case, declared private universities to be beyond public control although they served public interests; a decision the educational historian Frederick Rudolph estimates set back the movement for public universities some fifty years. Moreover, private universities strongly resisted the land grant movement mostly out of resentment of being left out of state and federal funding; Harvard President Charles Eliot roundly condemned the new arrangement.

One can graphically conceive of how little universities educated the poor and lower-working-class by a rare study conducted by Ora Reynolds in the middle twenties. Reynolds sampled a cross section of colleges and universities—urban, rural, public and private—and his findings starkly indicate that higher education almost wholly catered to an upper and middle-class. Three of every four fathers of college students, Reynolds surveyed, were from the staunch bourgeois fields of proprietors, professional, managerial and agriculture. Twenty-eight percent had attended college (today, three out of five students are the first in their families to do so). The median income of the fathers of students was slightly over $3,000, and less than 3 percent of fathers of students earned less than $1,000; all of which indicates how few of the lower-working-class and the poor were able to attend college.

Some of the incomes of parents of students in private colleges were staggering, even by today's income standards. Nearly half of the parents of Yalemen (47 percent) earned upwards of $10,000; 55 percent at Washington and Lee; and 68 percent at Williams. Ten thousand dollars in 1926 signified affluence. One can see how private colleges and universities futher stratified the society.

One reason that the urban universities never educated an urban poor was that the public schools also failed in this respect. Both the public school movement in the 1800s and the urban universities which took on form with the urbanization of the 1920s did not directly administer to that clientele they were intended to serve. The public schools and the public municipal universities became the vehicles of social mobility for largely a working- and middle-class; neither the working poor, or later, a welfare poor were able to take advantage of these free schools. Colin Greer in *The Great School Legend* adduces evidence to show that the poor failed in the public schools. By and large, the overwhelming majority of the poor was not educated in the public schools; they either failed or dropped out to work in an economy with many job openings for the dropout. Consequently, it was the rare poor youngster who went on to City College.

There was a striking irony to this development. Initially, the free common school movement began in urban centers in the Northeast before the Civil War, yet the land grant movement was strongest in the Middle West. Consequently, there was little direct relation between the urban common school and the urban private university, and the Western private academy and the land grant college. But the common school movement grew so that by the end of the nineteenth century over 40 percent of college students came from public schools. Nevertheless, as educational historian Lawrence Cremins notes, the public school movement still favored the affluent over the poor so that it never fulfilled its high aims.

The urban public high school student who went on to the private urban university was primarily middle-class. By the turn of the 19th century less than 3 percent of New York City's half million pupils in public

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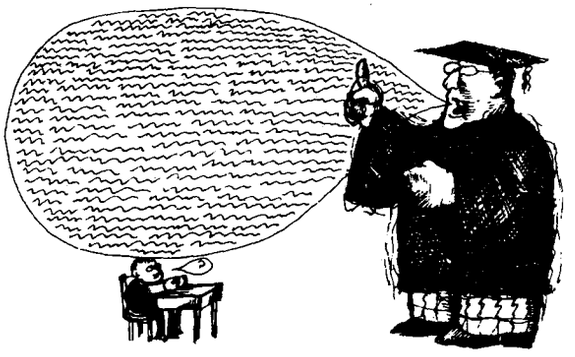
schools would graduate from high school. Many who dropped out—an estimated two-thirds—did so in order to work, leaving college as an option mainly for the well-to-do. A common complaint of educational reformers such as George Counts was that the public high school, intended for the poor, mainly helped the affluent.

Few public urban universities have attempted to grapple with the problem of educating an urban poor. A major study of accessible higher education, Warren Willingham's *Free Access Higher Education,* disclosed a haphazard educational pattern which unconsciously neglects the urban poor. Approximately three-fourths of our major urban centers are markedly lacking in available colleges and universities that provide a measure of "free access"—defined as an institution where it is relatively easy to be admitted and which maintains free or low-cost tuition. And more than 100 major cities have no such "free access" college. Moreover,



blacks are geographically removed from nearby free access colleges.

This educational urban neglect is even pronounced in the two most education-minded states in the nation, New York and California. In New York, with the most colleges, two out of three are private institutions; of 34 defined as "free access" institutions nearly all are public community colleges. In California, the pattern is the same. Almost all "free access" institutions are public community colleges—86 of the total 187 colleges in the state—since only the top third high school graduates can be admitted to the senior colleges. The senior institutions, because of lack of facilities, were rejecting some 9 out of 10 applicants for admission. And the community colleges are not located where they would be most advantageous to the urban population; in Los Angeles, for example, substantially fewer blacks than whites live near a community college.

Those who most felt the burden of this urban educational neglect are the urban black poor. Studies of black attendance at colleges starkly indicate the under-representation of blacks. One study reports that only 2 percent of the undergraduate enrollment is black; another random sample study of 87 white institutions reports only 3 percent black enrollment and only nine of these institutions with a "free access" admissions policy.

In time, this negligence was bound to cause severe repercussion to the urban university. By the end of the 1960s students, mostly black, protested at innumerable urban universities such as City College, San Francisco State and Brandeis. They demanded equality in urban universities. A major study of campus protests shows that one-third of all demonstrations were at urban universities in large cities with substantial poor, black populations. Moreover, one-fourth of all protestors' demands were for admitting more black students.

In 1847 when City College, the first unit of the City University of New York, was established, its stated goal was

> to bring the advantages of the best education of any school in our country within the reach of all the children in the city whose genius, capacity and desire of attainments are such as to render it reasonably certain that they may be made, and by such means would become, eminently useful to society.

CUNY's goal has been broadened to include students not previously considered "college material." In its initial reactive period, the city entered the field of two-year community colleges and educational skill centers; in 1964, the university's College Discovery Program and Demonstration Guidance Project was begun. That was the first major step towards granting admission to students who were considered inadequately prepared for the academic rigors of a four-year college. Other programs had been implemented since then—College Bound, SEEK, 100 Scholars Program. However, it was not until February 28, 1966 that the Board of Higher Education of the City of New York decided to offer the "benefits of post-high school education to all residents of New York City who are *able* and eager to avail themselves of these benefits"—the policy of open admissions—establishing 1975 as the target date.

Unfortunately, open admissions at CUNY have not overcome inequality. Due to poor recruitment and failure to provide satisfactory remediation, open admissions has not changed much for the better. Like California, most of the 8,500 new black students admitted in the first year were tracked into community colleges, whereas most of the 24,300 white, and largely Catholic middle-class freshmen were placed in the senior colleges. That despite the fact that two-thirds of students enrolling in community colleges, according to Board of Higher Education figures, desire a four-year degree; in practice only one-sixth transfer to four-year institutions. According to a *New York Times* report, more of the top students applied to CUNY rather than less.

Choice of college depended on a high school student's grade averages, thus guaranteeing those with higher av-

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erages places in the senior college of their choice. In order to be considered for admission to a senior college, a student first had to attain an 85 average and be in the top 30 percent of his or her class.

Moreover, the open admissions plan failed to offer strong remedial and recruitment programs. The plan did not establish a coordinated remedial policy directed from the top but left such a policy to the discretion of the individual colleges. And according to an unpublished study of open admissions at Queens College by Susan Levine, many guidance counselors did not encourage black students—a rise from 8.7 percent black and Puerto Rican students in 1969 to between 9 and 13 percent in 1971-72, approximately 1.5 times less than the average for all senior colleges.

What was expected of open admissions did not come to pass. It was not the egalitarian program one hoped. Neither did it devalue the university and cause a mass exodus from the urban public universities to the urban private universities as such Cassandras as New York University's James Hester gloomily predicted. In fact, the reverse happened: prospective middle-class students left the urban private universities to attend CUNY. St. John's University reported a 30 percent drop in enrollment the first year of open admissions; the Brooklyn Center of Long Island University revealed that freshman enrollments were down 40 percent for the first two years of open enrollment; and Hester's NYU was so badly affected in enrollment that the university, caught in a financial squeeze had to go as far as to sell its uptown undergraduate campus to the state university.

The alternatives for reducing inequality through education are few. A quota system, although politically improbable, presents one method. And, it must be remembered, the quarrel at City College initially centered on quotas. All protagonists accepted the proposition that admissions could not be truly universal, and proposed versions of quota plans. The first demand of the black students was for quotas.

Other ways to speed up the education of the black poor would be to create entirely new forms of education. These might consist of experimental colleges geared to existing high-paying jobs and not bound by traditional credentialing involved in our present undergraduate and graduate schools. They could be small decentralized units constituting an ambulatory higher education component serving a wide area.

The severe economic retrenchment has halted the progress towards free universal higher education. Some thirty years ago President Truman had appointed a special commission to study the problem of higher education and it came up with the recommendation that every youngster be guaranteed an education up until the 14th year—two years of college. We have yet to realize this goal. And with the sentiment growing against free tuition and open admissions in these hard times there is less likelihood that the Truman recommendations may come to pass.

Yet free higher education should still remain our goal. We owe it to ourselves to make higher education accessible to the poor as well as to the more well-off in terms of manpower resources and social justice. In time, free college will be taken for granted as has public schooling at the elementary and secondary level.

UNION MUSCLE IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

RUSSELL W. GIBBONS

A hard line in educational collective bargaining

If traditionalism is crumbling everywhere and young girls no longer heed moral injunctions to say "No," then the banner apparently has been taken up in the public sector by many of the nation's elected school boards. It was the theme at a recent meeting of the Pennsylvania School Boards Association at a seminar conducted in an Allegheny foothills resort, and teachers in that state's two largest cities can provide currency to an evolving hard line in educational collective bargaining.

RUSSELL W. GIBBONS *observed Pittsburgh's teacher strikers in and out of the cold through December and January.*

The conflict situations were dramatized in Philadelphia three years ago and in Pittsburgh earlier this academic year, when union teachers were locked into bitter two-month-long strikes which forced the political and economic power centers of both cities to appeal to the state for bail-out funds. More than the usual bread-and-butter money package was involved in both strikes, however, and there is evidence that the pattern of the extended confrontation is surfacing by design in other parts of the country.

The good news for Pittsburgh teachers was an average 24 percent salary increase for some 4,500 members of the AFL-CIO Pittsburgh Federation of Teachers, the

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first part of a 30-month package which is expected to exceed $19.3-million through the middle of 1978. The bad news is that they have already begun to pay "blood money," as one returning striker put it, for their 58-day walkout: a local judge who had sought to force them back to work through an injunction and fines subsequently ruled that the board could withhold union dues from checkoff until the $105,000 in contempt fines he assessed were paid. And at the same time, the embattled Pittsburgh Board of Education declared that untenured teachers and para-professionals would become victims in a personnel cut which they said was triggered by the teacher's wage package.

Saying "No" is better than saying you are sorry, members of the school board group were advised. This counsel for those officials who must deal with blackboard professionals is based on some tortuous applications of the law: in Pennsylvania and most other states, 180 days of school is required for state aid. Carrying this stick to its logical extension, if a teacher strike goes past an undetermined number of classroom days, the prospect of both ungraduated seniors missing college and unwanted summer sessions would result in an unbearable pressure among parents and community to "bring the teachers back." Said the seminar spokesman: "Let the judge put them back to work after they are out for a month."

"The judge" in Pittsburgh occupied a unique role: as a member of the County Court of Common Pleas,

(Continued on page 275)

Union Muscle In Parochial Schools

If big city school systems are experiencing the sharp edge of budget cuts and the rising discontent of professionals who are looking toward trade union solutions, then the long-neglected plight of lay teachers in the Catholic schools may provide additional evidence that the church cannot insulate its parochial institutions from the conflicts of a secular society.

This spring the National Labor Relations Board, the federal agency which supervises the collective bargaining process for the Department of Labor, is sending staff into half a dozen cities where teachers and (excluding clerical and religious) other employees, have petitioned for elections to determine if unions should represent them in Catholic school systems.

Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, Gary, Indiana, and even Kailua, Hawaii, are expected to have NLRB elections which could result in unionization of faculties on the elementary and secondary level of Catholic schools.

The reaction from some quarters has not reflected the "progressive, social encyclical" posture which has generally found expression among the Catholic bishops in the past 40 years, and while the National Conference of Catholic Bishops has so far stepped around eggs on the issue, some of its members have come down with a heavy hand.

In Philadelphia in January, several pastors in the archdiocese announced legal action to enjoin the NLRB from setting up an election for the 2,000 lay teachers in the archdiocesan elementary schools, declaring that the Board's presence would "plunge the government deeply into the affairs of parish schools." The Association of Catholic Teachers, an affiliate of the Philadelphia AFL-CIO American Federation of Teachers, called it a "ploy," observing that it had sought for over a year to meet with Cardinal Krol on the issue, without success.

In Pittsburgh, in the wake of the bitter two-month-long strike of the city's public school teachers, an NLRB election has been authorized for the diocesan elementary schools for this month. "The unionization of Catholic high schools and elementary schools offers only destruction," declared the parish bullletin of a northside church recently, warning the congregation that the leaders of the Pittsburgh AFT and the Pittsburgh Diocesan Teachers were acting "in the style of Hitler and Mussolini." These tactics appear to be more in vogue than any frontal assault in a diocese which has long projected a "pro-labor" image, with an annual "St. Joseph the Worker" ceremony and Labor Day Mass.

A diocesan attorney in Gary, Ind. recently wrote the Association of Catholic Teachers that "(Canon Law and theology) experts all agree that a union such as you propose is contrary to the teachings of the church and in direct violation of Canon Law." Application of the "faithful children" concept of the immigrant church would seem to have little support when professionals in Catholic schools see their fellow teachers in public institutions thousands of dollar away in the income and benefits sectors.

The other conflict is so obvious as to be almost embarrassing: "The same bishops who back the United Farm Workers and their right to representation and representative elections seem selectively ignorant of the principles of social justice when their own employees are involved," the Association of Catholic Teachers recently wrote to Cardinal Krol.

R.W.G.

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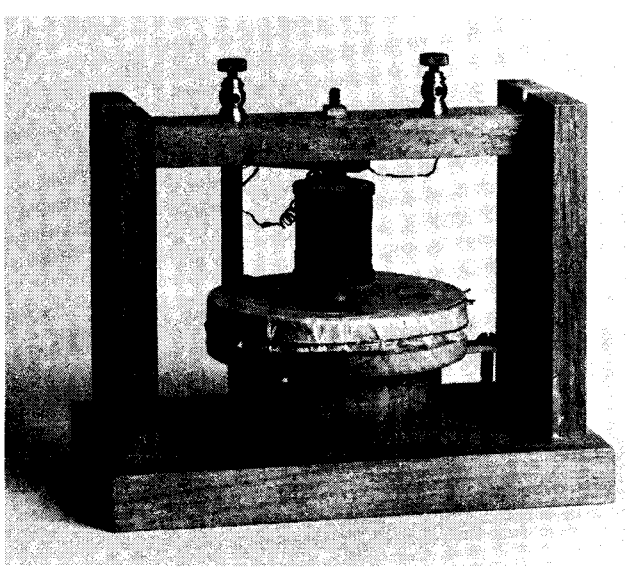
One of a series of reports on the first hundred years of the telephone.

Now that you've invented the telephone, Professor Bell, how can you make it so people can afford it?

Alexander Graham Bell's fingers were all thumbs in mechanical matters. He had a sensitive ear, an original mind, and a deep knowledge of speech and hearing. These assets enabled him to invent the telephone "mentally." But translating the concept into a working model required mechanical gifts he did not possess. And manufacturing telephones for use by the public posed still other problems.



Alexander Graham Bell's first telephone

To be fair, very few people had any experience fabricating electrical devices in 1873, when Bell began the investigations that led to the telephone. Samuel F. B. Morse's telegraph, invented in 1835, was the only important commercial use yet made of electricity. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology was only 14 years old. Thomas Edison's electric light was still some years in the future.

In the United States, some of the most concentrated work on new applications of electricity was being done in the workshop of Charles Williams, Jr. at 109 Court Street, Boston. Inventors including Edison took their ideas to Williams, who translated them into working models—or more often, into models that did not work.

Thomas A. Watson

Bell sought Williams' aid in 1874. The helper assigned to him in January 1875 was Thomas A. Watson, aged 20. Bell was 27. The two complemented each other marvelously. Watson had his own sort of genius—for the practical business of putting together metal and wood and glass to form devices that would do what he wanted. The collaboration between the two men produced, on March 10, 1876, that famous first telephone call: "Mr. Watson, come here. I want to see you."

Bell foresaw a time when telephone service would link the cities of the world. But that required vast improvements in the telephone and in telephone connections. The newborn Bell Telephone Company set out to make those improvements. Watson hired two assistants, and began what would be called today a research and development

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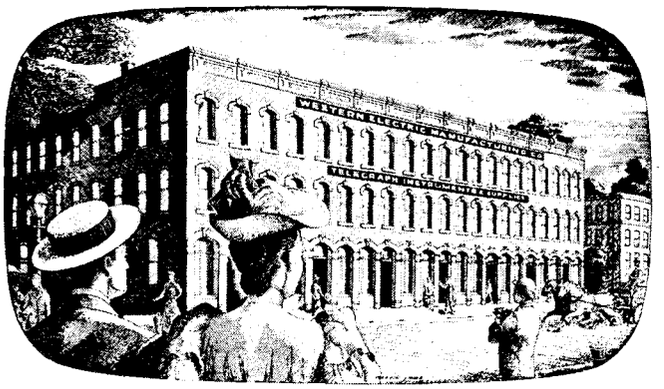
program. He made the experimental phone sturdier, and devised a hand-cranked magneto to ring a bell. Williams began manufacturing Watson's designs. The invention's financial backers organized telephone companies in various cities, raised additional capital, and hired a General Manager, Theodore N. Vail.



The Western Electric Manufacturing Co., Chicago 1881

By 1879 demand for telephones exceeded the capacity of Williams' shop. Manufacturers in Indianapolis, Cincinnati and Baltimore were licensed to make telephones under the Bell patents. More were needed. One company in Chicago had gained considerable expertise in making telegraph equipment. Years later, Watson reminisced, "When a piece of equipment built by Western Electric came into our shop...we always used to admire the superlative excellence of the workmanship." In 1881, Bell Telephone acquired a controlling interest in Western Electric, and in 1882 made that company the manufacturer of Bell equipment.

This arrangement was desirable for a number of reasons. Western Electric workmanship improved the quality of voice reproduction by telephone, a step essential to winning wide public acceptance of the new invention. It ensured reliability. When repairs were needed, standardized parts from Western Electric made for speedy restoration of service. A fourth advantage concerned the evolving nationwide network: a single manufacturer could see to it that telephone equipment throughout the country would work together compatibly, thus assuring the "interconnectedness" of the network—its capability of connecting any two phones.

The Engineering Department of Western Electric joined in the search for telephone improvements. Managers of local companies made suggestions based on day-to-day experience with customers. Outside inventors worked out refinements. Bell Telephone management weighed all the ideas, in terms of value to customers and practicality in manufacture. The best ideas were incorporated into the phones being made.

Organizational "feedback"—the subtle flow of engineering information and understanding within a technologically oriented enterprise—was a novel concept in those days. But the young telephone industry had already achieved a union of the successive stages of effort essential to the development of a coherent telephone system. Today Bell Laboratories is responsible for research and development. Western Electric looks for—and finds—better ways to make things. The 23 regional Bell companies provide telephone service and report back their needs and the needs of their customers. And American Telephone and Telegraph Company management provides overall coordination and guidance. Some of the names are different, but the functions had been established by 1882.

Vertical integration is one name economists give to this form of corporate organization. In a typical case, raw materials change to finished product with suc-

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cessive stages of manufacture integrated under one company. For example, a printing company might own paper mills and even its own forests. But there is a difference, because the Bell company was not, and is not, primarily a manufacturer of products. From the beginning, the partners in the enterprise—whether engaged in invention or manufacture or operations—sold telephone service, not telephone equipment.

For instance, there was the fundamental item of connecting the lines of two subscribers who wanted to talk. This was handled in central offices by a corps of operators, using cords, plugs and jacks. Setting up a call could take as long as seven minutes. In 1884, Ezra T. Gilliland, working for the Bell company, devised a mechanical system that would allow a subscriber to reach up to 15 lines without the help of an operator. In 1891, Almon B. Strowger, a Kansas City undertaker, patented a dial machine constructed in a round collar box. It connected up to 99 lines. But the big city offices already handled thousands of lines, and the numbers were growing rapidly. The connection problem was growing much more rapidly, because of some basic geometry: it takes one line to interconnect two telephones, three lines for three telephones, six lines for four, 28 lines for eight, and 4,851 lines for 99 telephones. In connections, added telephones were just the opposite of "cheaper by the dozen."

The Bell company set out to develop a machine that would connect any of 10,000 telephones—49,995,000 possible connections. The search was costly, but necessary for continued good service, and the various parts of the company joined to pursue it to a successful conclusion. (Today in the United States a telephone can be connected to any of 140 million others. There are 10 quadrillion—10 million billion—possible connections.)

Young men manually connecting phone calls in 1879

There was also the problem of financing the nationwide conversion of central offices to dial. Service improvements on the scale required are enormously expensive—so expensive as to be impossible without the most careful attention to economy. Here again the integrated corporate structure shows its values. Western Electric, because its prime objective is to benefit telephone service, has become a world champion in cost control, and a pacesetter in the improvement of productivity. Data issued by the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics show that overall the productivity of the telephone industry has increased by 50% since 1965. That is two and a half times the productivity increase in the United States economy as a whole.

Savings of that sort continue, as a recent example shows. Bell scientists, building on the semiconductor research that helped them invent the transistor, also aided in the development of the light-emitting diode or LED. These solid-state lamps, now familiar as displays in pocket calculators and watches, can replace incandescent lamps in many pieces of telephone

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equipment. They will last the lifetime of the phone, operate with much less electrical power, and help hold down the cost of installation and maintenance. Over the next five years, LEDs should save the Bell System about $120 million. Bell Labs semiconductor research also resulted in the invention of another solid-state light source, the tiny semiconductor laser.

Future uses of these solid-state light sources may be even more important than today's. They will almost certainly be used

For the nation's future communications needs, Bell engineers are today developing systems to transmit telephone calls on lightwaves.

in systems transmitting telephone calls and other communications over lightwaves. Lightwave communications could mean an enormous increase in the capacity of the phone network, making it possible to meet the need for increased call volumes and new communications services economically in the years ahead. And to do it while conserving energy and scarce raw materials.

Innovation, productivity, advance planning—all mean improved service and reasonable costs. And in the telephone industry, cost savings benefit not only shareholders; they are passed along to the public as well.

In the decade 1965-1975, the cost of living rose 74%. Telephone rates for local service went up only 40%. And interstate long distance rates went up about 4%. Now 95% of all American homes have telephones. The quality of the service is the envy of the world.

Numerous studies have been made of the role of the Bell organizational structure in achieving those results. One of the most recent, concluded in 1974, was made by the independent auditing and management consulting firm of Touche, Ross & Co., acting as consultants for the staff of the Federal Communications Commission. According to their report:

"Western Electric's efficient performance has resulted in lower costs than otherwise would have been incurred. Because of Western's pricing policies and practices, these lower costs have not increased profits, but have been passed on to operating companies in the form of lower prices...The effect of the interrelationship between Bell and Western Electric is to operate Western, not as a manufacturing concern, but as an integral part of a vertically integrated communications firm. These interrelationships result in a favorable impact upon Western's costs, prices and service to operating companies."

The best telephone service in the world didn't just happen. It was planned that way.

One Bell System. It works.

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he and other members also approve nominees to the board of education—which under the state constitution are appointive and not elective. This particular judge also initiated a series of back-to-work injunctions and fines against the union, and in the Catch-22 atmosphere of the final days of the strike named a five-person "citizens committee" to give him a report, only two of whom resided within the city school district. Not one was black, although the inner-city black population in Pittsburgh schools is greater than forty percent. When it appeared that even this unlikely panel had recommended in favor of the strikers, the judge suggested that he would burn the fact-finding study.

While the torch was not set to the report, rifle blasts did shatter the door and inner hall of the local PFT headquarters, and sheriffs' deputies padlocked the union headquarters and froze their bank account. A concerted effort by the school administration to open selected schools, coupled with veiled threats about the consequences to seniors who sought college admissions all came at a time when hundreds of teachers joined picket lines in January's sub-zero temperatures. Yet when they came in out of the cold on January 26, the teachers had won the biggest money package in their history.

Local leaders of the Teachers Union had predicted a "long" strike, and the 58-day walkout approximated the time which the board had also conceded would be necessary to "pay" for the union package. The Pittsburgh school administration proposed its own solution to the settlement cost: on March 1 it recommended to the board that a two-percent teaching staff and four-percent non-professional reduction be effected. The district, with more than 61,000 students crowded into 150 schools, had also presented long-simmering issues of classroom size and building discipline, which were part of the strike momentum—and factors which kept the walkout over 90 percent effective.

Many teachers saw the "long strike" calculation as a concerted and deliberate gang-up by school administrators, the appointive board and the judiciary to eventually emasculate the union as an effective bargaining agent in the Pittsburgh schools. "The layoffs have been planned all along," says one union officer, "and the strike became a rationalization for the cutbacks." The "bailout" money which eventually came from Harrisburg must be seen within the realities of a presidential election year—with Pennsylvania Gov. Milton Shapp at the time seeking delegation control even if he was the only one taking his candidacy with seriousness.

Padlocking of offices, injunctions and individual and union fines assessed for every day strikers refuse to return to work have not been uncommon in other teacher disputes since the beginning of the 1975-76 school year. Union professionals and clerical employees have been locked in a dispute with the Newark school board since

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the first of the year and, as of this writing, have been out since early February. Among others, the union refused to agree in advance to layoffs and the lengthening of the school day without an increase in pay.

In Orchard Park, an affluent bedroom community of Buffalo, one of the longest strikes in any suburban school system in upstate New York last year resulted in bitter divisiveness in the community and a virtual sacking of the tenure system by judicial degree. Criminal charges against teachers involved in picketing brought the invocation from the bench which has become familiar to any teacher who has sought to enter into the meaningful collective bargaining sector: teachers and professionals must set "good examples" for students. Obviously, a picket line is not professional, and articulation of vocal feelings on those lines have served to trigger the philosophy that the courts can best resolve classroom interruptions due to personnel problems.

The rhetorical outpouring from the school systems of the larger cities and smaller communities alike has increasingly evolved into murky language of "optimal educational objectives" coupled with "budgetary criteria," which when translated into the realities of the marketplace mean simply that there will be higher costs, larger classes and an increasing incidence of confrontation between teachers and their employers.

President Ford's new Secretary of Labor, W. J. Usery, told school management personnel in Miami—at the same time that Pittsburgh teachers were being fined $10,000 a day by the court—that "fines and jail sentences often do more to hinder the chances of settlement than to enhance them . . . there can be no doubt that future relationships are severely ruptured by such harsh reaction." Observers of the meteoric rise of the American Federation of Teachers in membership growth in the past decade recall that its two titular leaders, Dave Selden and Al Shanker, both became brokers in the educational picture after they "did time" for refusing to obey injunctions in New York and New Jersey.

The tap at Health, Education and Welfare was turned half-way when Lyndon Johnson's Asian adventure took priorities away from the Great Society. It went to a trickle when Nixon began to dismantle much of the effective HEW apparatus. Under Ford the prospect is for more of an economic blackboard jungle for the schools and those who occupy the classrooms. For the name of the educational game is still money—and budget retrenching, personnel cutbacks and moving the resolution of teacher disputes to the courtroom from the negotiating room are but ominous signs that saying "No" will become a popular Neanderthal tactic in an increasing sector of academia.

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HUMPTY DUMPTY

THE SCREEN

In *All the President's Men* an anonymous source who is key to the Watergate investigation is always referred to as "Deep Throat," and the suggestion in this nickname that somehow journalism is like pornography seems an apt one. A scandal such as Watergate titillates and leads us on. Its implicit promise is always to go further and shock us more, so we quickly become jaded. Whatever the current state of the investigation is, it doesn't satisfy us. There must be some other version of the scandal, we always feel, that will really tell it all—that will expose the whole, sordid, horrible, delicious story we are not now getting. As a result of these feelings, no number of revelations and resignations is ever enough. Once Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein have exposed the political mess, they can sense that the public is still listless, still looking for new Watergate kicks. In the end they therefore give us the human side of the news—how Nixon drank heavily, groveled on the floor, made for the window, etc. But in the interim, in order to string us along and stretch out the material, they even try giving us their own story.

Despite its title, the men whom *All the President's Men* is about are Woodward and Bernstein themselves. This is disappointing too. It's as if the porno movie were focused on the man all the time instead of the woman. We begin to feel cheated, as we would in a grind house, when we figure out that the plot here isn't just a pretext for showing us what we really came to see. In a sense Woodward and Bernstein, and filmmaker Alan J. Pakula, are defeated by their own material. Its very strength is their failure, for Watergate is of such interest to us that it overwhelms any interest we might have taken in Woodward and Bernstein.

It is essentially the background of their story we are focused on. We find ourselves trying to peer around them, wishing they would get out of the way and being

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irritated that they don't. The production values of the film seem almost to anticipate and acknowledge our impatience. One background the film contains, for instance, is the *Washington Post*'s newsroom, all 35,000 square feet of which have been reproduced at enormous expense on two sound stages in Burbank. It's really the most non-descript office imaginable, and recreating both the scale and the decor of the original has added nothing to the film. But the filmmakers must hope that if the background we see is absolutely authentic, it will make up for not giving us the background we want.

So we are stuck with Woodward and Bernstein, and a movie that, to be honest, doesn't do much to compensate us for our loss. Apparently Dustin Hoffman tried to get the screen rights to Bernstein and Woodward's book for his own production company, but lost out to Wildwood Enterprises, which is Robert Redford's company. Though Redford then hired Hoffman to act in his film, the relationship established by their competition for the property seems to be carried over into the relationship between Woodward and Bernstein in the film itself. Woodward (Redford) is Mr. Inside, while Bernstein (Hoffman) is Mr. Outside. The film becomes, in effect, a see-sawing match between a golden boy and a hustler, a straight arrow and a hippy, a WASP and a Jew, a Jeff and a Mutt.

Where Bernstein has to sweat and finagle for every scoop he gets, Woodward has it all just dropped in his lap. A lot of this film is spent on the telephone, and the difference between the two men is apparent in each one's calls. Woodward will call some fat cat to make a simple inquiry about a campaign check he has traced, and the man will, out of sheer panic, spill more information than Woodward would ever have guessed he had. (Redford has no doubt cast himself in the right role as the recipient of these phone calls, for no actor has had more experience registering incredulity. Naiveté is his forte.) In Bernstein's crucial phone call, on the other hand, far from having the whole thing blabbed to him without even asking, he has to propose a moment of silence just as a way for the person on the other end to confirm something he already knows. And this is from a friendly source rather than one of the men he is supposed to be investigating.

Indeed, Bernstein has to push his way onto the Watergate assignment in the first place, Woodward being the reporter to whom it happened to be assigned. The ground rules that apply on the phone also hold pretty much in face-to-face confrontations. When Woodward insists they not press a fellow reporter whose ex-boyfriend has access to the CREEP personnel roster, the woman drops the list on Woodward's desk anyway a day or two later. But when Bernstein at last gets his foot in the door of one of the names on that list, he has to pressure her for all he is worth just to drag a little cooperation out of her. Woodward is the one with the connection to

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"Deep Throat," who volunteers to leak all sorts of information to guide the reporters. More typical of Bernstein's experience is a day spent cooling his heels in a D.A.'s waiting room, until in desperation he lures the man's secretary away just to get access to his office.

The only times we see the two men acting as one are the moments when their investigation is mired down. As they riffle through hundreds of call slips the White House sent to the Library of Congress, pursuing a lead that is not finally going to pan out, the camera recedes farther and farther from them in an overhead boom shot. As they drive around Washington having door after door slammed in their faces by CREEP staff members, an aerial zoom shot pulls back from their car until it is swallowed up in the city's traffic. The effect of these shots, seeing Woodward and Bernstein from so far away, is to diminish, isolate and unite them all at once. Such long shots are the only real flourishes of style the film has, too, except for its opening shot. It is literally a shot, an almost painfully loud report of a pistol heard as a typewriter key strikes a piece of paper in micro close-up.

At the end, having no other way to conclude, Pakula repeats this effect, swelling the sound of teletypes on the track until it is a fusillade. Pakula has no other way to conclude because the climax to the Watergate exposé is finally irrelevant to the personal story he has been telling. Woodward and Bernstein pass all the crises in their relationship earlier, but because he has to pretend this film is about the Watergate affair, Pakula has to press on toward its crisis. Since they attempt to make their point merely be turning their volume up, Pakula's howitzer-sized sound effects don't really convince us that what we are seeing tells us much about Watergate. But then, his plot doesn't convince us that what we are seeing tells us much about Woodward and Bernstein, either. I don't know—the whole thing smells like a cover-up to me.

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Pastor Neuhaus's bicentennial offering is a call to revival, the revival of that chastened and never-quite-so-manifest destiny that in its promise spoke to the despair of our immigrant parents and moved them to so many an epic adventure. One has only to visit the National Gallery's "European Vision of America" to vividly recapture the power the New World held for the Old, how mightily the experiment here spoke to the pent-up dreams of weary and oppressed millions. To see and absorb that exhibit, with its manifold promise of new beginnings, may offer a glimpse of what Abraham may have imagined and felt as he departed the doomed city of Ur, and little wonder the founding Puritans saw their venture as a second chance for the ancient convenant of promise.

But here we are, the not necessarily wiser but certainly sadder inheritors of those grandiose hopes, contemplating after Vietnam, as Neuhaus is, the shattered pretense, the "arrogance of power," and feeling perhaps more like Qoheleth—that all is vanity, that for all this toil, what does man gain by it? It does not seem a time for giving birth, but rather a time for mourning, dying, or throwing away. There is abroad in the land, as Neuhaus observes, "a sense of journey's end," and hence the temptation to repudiate that Pilgrim assurance "that God hath more truth yet to break out of His Holy Word"—and it was to happen preeminently here in America. What seems all too manifest in our erstwhile destiny is the intolerable human cost exacted by the get-and-grab-what-you-can policy the Protestant ethic degenerated into—and so the impulse to "go home," stripped of our pretensions to singularity in the cosmic game.

But home, Neuhaus insists, is a place to which Americans have never been. At least for those to whom this book is primarily addressed, those who still dwell within the charmed cricle of Judaeo-Christian conviction—and Neuhaus thinks this not-so-secular America represents many—home lies not behind but forward, in the incompleted task set by the transcendent covenant that once inspired even as it restrained all our social and political "contracts," our promises to each other and other nations. In the midst of the pessimism awakened by Vietnam and Watergate and against the ongoing *realpolitik* that still dominates our internal and external affairs, Neuhaus wishes to remind "those with ears to hear" of their Covenant with the Lord who threw his lot into our history and awaits the redemption of *our* promises. The covenantal undertone of what we are about in our social contracts, he argues, supplies the criteria for redefining our flagging national purpose and setting new agenda for politicians and churches concerned with a livable human future. In the process of laying

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this out, we are also treated to sharp critiques of just about everybody, Enlightenment liberals, behaviorists, doomsdayers, privatizing religionists, "neo-philiacs," John Rawls' theory of justice, Bellah's "civil religion"—from whom all, Neuhaus is anxious to distinguish himself. In fact, the criticism across so wide a spectrum of disciplines and topics tends to produce a splayed effect in the work as a whole. A problematic area like the hold of the "circle of faith" is introduced; we are informed this deserves imaginative attention, but is not directly to the author's purpose to handle, and so on —again and again. Neuhaus' forte is criticism, not digging in and reconstructing.

Coming from one of the principal architects of last year's "conservative" Hartford Manifesto, however, this book should correct apprehension that that document was meant to encourage a withdrawal from the political arena. With proper qualifications, Neuhaus is still one who assumes that politics is sovereign in making history, and one for whom making history is a religious duty. In this dark time, his advice is Luther's *semper incipere*—"to begin again always." Neuhaus's post-deluge meditations have not seized on our broken promises, perhaps because as one of the founders of Clergy and Laymen Concerned he was earlier than most to detect the betrayal, issued his grim prophecies before the time of judgment, and is now readier than many to forgive and get on with the task. And no doubt familiar with the vicissitudes of the original Israel in keeping its part of the bargain, he is less inclined than many to expect more of the American version of the Second Israel. No matter the delusions and perversions which riddle the American Dream; the epic design which the Pilgrims gave to the experiment and the hope our immigrant parents found in it, he believes, were sound.

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be the lethal flaw in Neuhaus's futuristic verification principle. Moreover, for all his concern for the poor and oppressed, Neuhaus pays scant attention to those in our society who have *not* found hope in the experiment (they don't write books or own TV stations), nor is there much evidence in his pages that he examined the minority scholarly voices who may well share his vision of the eschaton, but find *structural* flaws in his operant system that no reformist tampering here and there will quite remedy. Perhaps the structural critics are mistaken, but before being dismissed as utopian dreamers who have never studied Augustine, they deserve a response. Finally, for all the talk of promise, the book breaks no new ground. If this wintry season of our discontent conceals growing things deep down in the subsoil, I find no clue to them here.

The Culture Watch
ROBERT BRUSTEIN
Knopf, $7.95

Singularities
JOHN SIMON
Random House, $12.95

Uneasy Stages
JOHN SIMON
Random House, $15.00

JOHN FLUDAS

Anyone who even glances at the performing arts would have to agree that the theatre has lost its way in a maze of experiments and financial crises, and that film is in much better artistic health. With more review space given over to film, and the gradual squeezing out of drama criticism in our newspapers and magazines, three recent books on theatre have much to teach us about the uses and abuses of critics. All three titles are collections of reviews and essays written in the past several years, and are cautions that very few occasional pieces deserve a second incarnation in book form.

The Culture Watch has received the least publicity, but it clearly makes the sanest contribution. Though Robert Brustein is not always at his lucid best, he has cast the circle of his vision far and wide, viewing theatre as a prism of society and pondering art and politics as sometimes strange, sometimes cozy bedfellows. John Simon, by contrast, has a keyhole interest in drama as aesthetics. In *Singularities,* a book of leisurely essays, he can fashion a discerning and engaging piece now and then, when he is not defending his compulsive dedication to high art. But in its counterpart, *Uneasy Stages,* an overstuffed, unselective album of reviews, mostly from *New York* magazine, he proves that he may sometimes be a keen critic of plays, but a perverse and hostile witness of performances.

Brustein writes of the difficulty of maintaining high standards in the American theatre, Simon of the impossibility of that ideal. Brustein looks skeptically, Simon hatefully, at the fads and cults of experiment, non-verbal, "therapeutic," environmental theatre, and Brustein finds in them the symptoms of a disturbed, fragmented society. Simon at least flirts with one of Brustein's fears, that "the minority culture of art and experiment is in serious danger of being overpowered by the majority culture of profit and entertainment," as more of our best talents are enticed by the easier cash and steadier work of television and film.

Gnawing concern, and troubled shifts from hope to doubt appear on Brustein's pages, while a sneering hauteur typifies Simon's prose. Despite his lip service to the shaky future of the arts in America, his tone betrays a self-serving craftsman of bravura arias that display his erudition and the coarseness that it veneers.

Many of the best themes in *The Culture Watch* eventually sound like over-used leitmotifs, such as the blasts against the mass media for applauding every silly bubble of the counter culture. Fresher, more personal, and more durable are his accounts of his Yale experience and the cultural cross talk between England and the United States in those essays written when he was

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guest critic for the London *Observer* during the 1972-73 season.

The futility that sometimes clouds his thoughts is the frustration that many sincere reviewers must feel about their inability to change the theatre directly. It is troublesome to prove that reviews ever influenced the theatre except in marginal ways. The Greeks and the Elizabethans did rather well without them (professional reviewing did not mature until the eighteenth century). Shaw galvanized the English stage by turning from critic to playwright, and Kenneth Tynan now serves as literary adviser to the National Theatre of Great Britain.

While Simon continued to carp away at American ineptness, Brustein gave up full-time criticism to become Dean of the Yale School of Drama, where he serves as administrator, impressario and stage director, guiding "the first professional theatre company in the United States . . . to develop organically out of a training program at a

Well, if we assume that taste, like the act of savoring a new food, only more so, is a slow, experimental process, then the tasteful critic is likely to be the one who spends the most time developing his taste. This means, to begin with, exposure. The critic who has trained his taste harder, by reading and seeing plays, by studying drama both through the words of great teachers and through the work of great directors and actors, by keeping abreast of scholarly and critical thought at home and abroad, stands a fair chance of being more discriminating than the reviewer who stumbled onto or was shoved into his particular slot because of some quirk of newspaper or magazine publishing. But of course there seem to be people with inveterate bad taste (whatever that means) whom no amount of exposure manages to refine.

—Singularities

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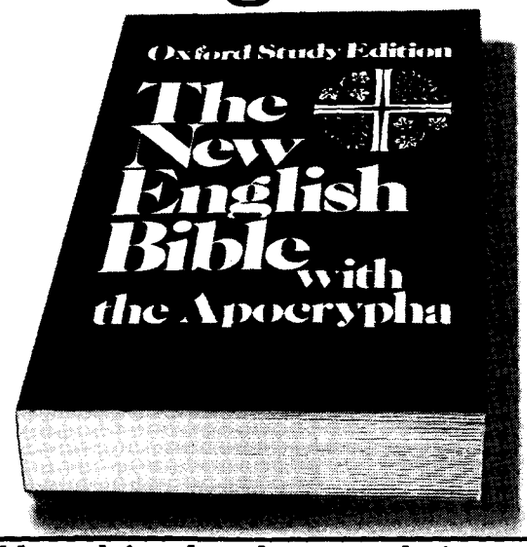

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school." It is still a child, and it has behaved precociously and naively. Brustein sounds at times like a doting parent, but just as often as a visioned person who made the risky switch from outsider to professional.

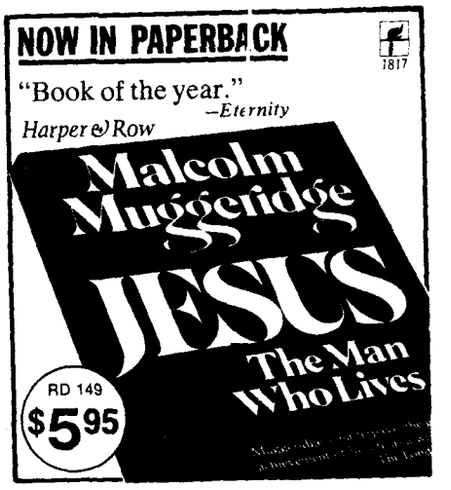
Observing the society of London, he gains insight into his own. The propagandistic plays staged in the political ferment of the Irish question serve as mirrors for American plays about blacks, Vietnam, social disorder, and he reflects on playwrights in both societies torn by their dual commitment to their causes and to their art. Simon cares little for contemporary issues or whatever else may mar the perfect plot, the polished phrase.

The severe libel laws in Britain, how they curtail freedom of expression in the press and the theatre, and the corresponding absence of these restraints here, are the subject of a taut essay, "Reflections on Privacy," which makes clear that caustic critics like John Simon would not be tolerated abroad.

True, there are inconsistencies in Brustein (he alternately damns and defends experimental theatre), but these are signs of change, doubt, growth, challenge and experience. Simon, consistent as a metronome, is misguided by a rigid, reactionary mentality. He can bear little more than supremely rare performances of the loftiest classics. Of course he has never seen anything approaching his quixotic ideal in the United States. His search for flawless theatre, he tells us innocently and defensively in *Singularities*, is prompted by his learning and a taste refined to exquisite perfection. It is also explained by a jungle of personal problems, and by an unmasked contempt for American theatre, "the short and simple annals of the poor American stage," for the artists who nourished it and the culture that surrounds it. "The American actor is a species that knows nothing whatsoever about poetry," or any of the other things that Simon knows.

European by birth and sensibility, he belongs to a fringe minority of foreign malcontents. These tinsel aristocrats pride themselves on the faded glory of old regimes. Everything is superior in Europe, but they choose to live and work in this brutish society, whose traditions are no more than a smudge here, a smudge there.

Simon's scapegoats are so numerous, they could be alphabetized and indexed. He has a special loathing for old women, female flesh, Jews, blacks in "white" roles, most living critics, including the "Polack" Jan Kott. There is a trickle of contempt for small, poor countries (Simon is from Yugoslavia) and a torrent of abuse against women. He is hideously fascinated with the



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heads, breasts and weight of actresses, most of whom are too beastly to cross the stage when Simon is in the house. This one "repels," that one has "sex repeal," others range from the merely "plain" to the "reptilian" to the "demonic." Does anyone still use, publicly, the term "penis envy" to degrade women?

He is terrified of real or imagined homosexuality on both sides of the proscenium. He offers whatever he can scrape from the private lives of Tennessee Williams, Edward Albee, James Baldwin, Terrence McNally as proof that their plays are artistic failures. "Failure" is his favorite word and concept, though "fiasco" runs a pretty close second. He literally blames gay audiences for the bad taste of the Moscow Art Theatre on tour in New York, for the popularity of nostalgia revivals, and for the "shoddy histrionic trickery" of Zoe Caldwell in *Colette*. Where is logic? Where is the line between delusion and reality?

He could make a worthwhile contribution by writing books on Büchner, Brecht or some other genius, preferably male, straight and European. His analysis of *Peer Gynt* as dramatic poetry, Ibsen on the pristine pages of a book, in the safety of the study, is a calm and perceptive appreciation; a review of a performance of the play in *Uneasy Stages* is a pathetic display of an intellect dwarfed by an unchecked mania to belittle and degrade.

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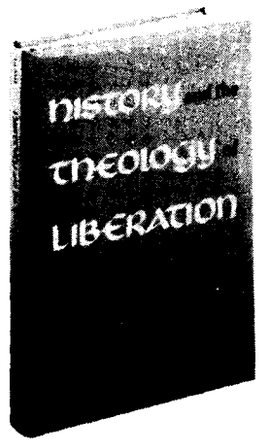

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He suggests that the universe is not less organic than the great teachings of "say, the Buddha and Jesus" since only a conscious universe can be "relevant to the whole of human life." The pre-scientific view of the universe was "a hierarchy of purposeful energies" which exceeds man not only "in size and intricacy, but also in depth of purpose and in intelligence." Such a universe, while being a manifestation of great consciousness, "*places* man and therefore calls to him." As above, so below, wrote Hermes Trismegistus, and man is a microcosm. But, Dr. Needleman reminds us, "I am not that man." What went wrong at the beginning of the scientific era was that the connection between the general laws of nature and the law of man's own nature was broken. This break Dr. Needleman views as largely the fault of the Church, which had "become unable to do what it is an essential task of all religions to do: to communicate the purposes of existence in such a way that a man can hope to experience them both in himself and in the cosmos. Vesalius' view of the human body as exhibiting a "marvelous correspondence with the universe" has been lost somewhere in the vast distances measured by astronomy (such as that light, traveling at 186,000 miles per second, takes 800,000 years to reach us from Andromeda, a local galaxy). In order for man once more to relate freely to the universe, "there must be something in him" Dr. Needleman insists "free to relate." Free of the body, else man's body cannot become an instrument of his search.

Becoming personal, Dr. Needleman describes some of his own experiences: of his grandmother's death, of assisting in a hospital autopsy room as a premed student (he can still smell the dust of skulls) and of staring, as a child, at the formula $E=MC^2$ as though "looking into the very face of the Creator." Today, in the face of what molecular biology can already achieve and in the face of Heisenberg's indeterminancy principle, what scares Dr. Needleman is not the acquisition, say, of a plastic heart, but rather that he might not even notice the loss of his human heart. He asks whether the failure of attention is not, perhaps, the original sin? Adam, the active element, was bidden to "cleave to" the passive ele: , his wife Eve; separated from him, she was tricked into judging the apple by its appearance, then Adam, active "hearkened to" the passive.

Einstein's demand that we think in new categories about the universe should require that we question our

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"old and stale understanding of what a living process really is" and make us ponder anew "the very ancient idea of universal relativity" that all things exist only 'in relationship to a mind which perceives them or a purposive consciousness which creates them." Instead, Dr. Needleman insists, we are afraid of becoming aware of our own ignorance, that we quickly fur and clot any such new ideas with new explanations. (Curiously, Dr. Needleman nowhere mentions Jacques Monod, the Nobel prize winner whose *Chance and Necessity* discusses the "element of chance in the universe" in depth.)

Dr. Needleman sees us with one hand full of new scientific facts, and the other of powerful, ancient ideas. He is afraid, that if we bring our hands together prematurely, we will produce uncontrollable explosions; but if we delay, or empty one hand to grab what is in the other, then "What will become of us as the universal purposes of nature move to balance out the injuries we have done to her?" This is indeed a serious question, as are many posed in this short, stimulating, book, which may remind us of T.S. Eliot's lines: "We know all the answers; it is the questions that we do not know." Perhaps we may even be reminded to be grateful for the reminder.

IN BRIEF

THE VIDEOTAPE BOOK: A BASIC GUIDE TO PORTABLE TV PRODUCTION, by *Michael Murray. Taplinger, $9.95.*

Videotape, by virtue of its accessibility, can transform television from a sales medium into a means of personal communication. "(It) uses television to beat television," writes Michael Murray. "Its communication is direct and personal; it converts the passive television watcher into the active television maker."

Murray explores the social implications of videotape as well as the mechanics in this book, which anyone who is exposed to television or film, whether in the creative end or as part of an audience, should find useful. The technical sections are written clearly and concisely, and give the layman a good understanding of all that is involved in shooting, editing, lighting, and moving the camera.

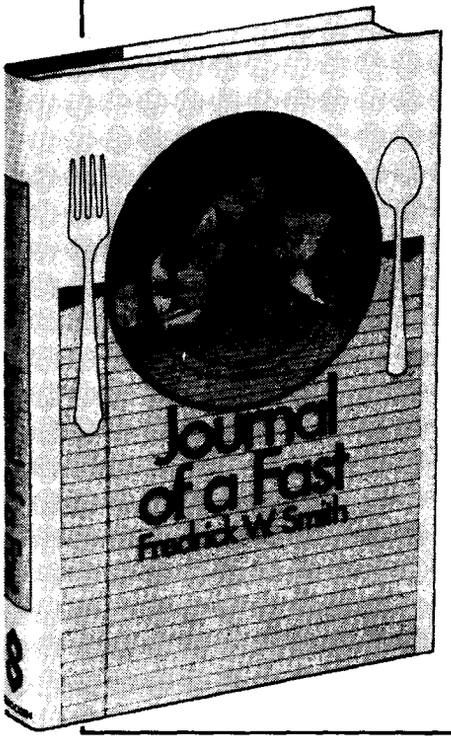
More important, though, is the discussion of the potential of videotape. Easier to use than film, it is less formal; and, because the quality of its picture is inferior, videotape has a certain gritty realism that film lacks. Murray gives many examples of video workshops in underprivileged urban communities, where local celebrity status is conferred on the young people who produce news shows or plays to be shown on television sets within the neighborhood. Videotape has been successful at distributing information to a community. It can supplement the role of the teacher in a classroom and give people a chance to observe themselves. It can be used in role plays and community controversies, in psychotherapy and surveillance.

If, as Murray suggests, "The first instinct for expression is visual," it is hard to imagine the limits of the role videotape will play in personal communications. DENNIS VELLUCCI

Abigail McCarthy (Cont.)

to say about her own industry, the greatest purveyor of the dream. The media, she said, have done much to distort the meaning of feminism. We know about the exploitations of the more bizarre aspects of the new feminism in the talk shows and the sorry picture of women in TV advertisements, but we seldom reflect on the scarcity of opportunity for women in the serious side of the industry—drama. "Don't be fooled by the women on TV," she said, "they are surrounded by men. In the last year there were 2,873 job-days for men and 361 days for women." (Actors' employment is figured in job-days.) Phyllis Garland of *Ebony* said, "The danger is in what

"evocative and strangely compelling"



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is *not* being communicated. There are people who make these decisions—news directors, top editors. We should be aware of what motivates them."

Another representative of the Screen Actors Guild was even more emphatic. "They have taken away the dream," she said, "and they have taken it away for their profits. To sell their soap, and cosmetics, yes, and oil, they have replaced the drama, in which people had goals and heroes and explored the problems of life, with game shows. All our children see are people greedy for *things* and *money* and getting them through some idiotic process of chance."

Finally, there were two ways of looking at the first meeting of the Congress of Presidents. Veterans of the new feminism who were there thought that it was a conservative gathering. On the other hand the media people and some of the planners seem to have been too cautious in their estimate of the conferees. "How many of you would think of yourselves as feminists?" asked one speaker rhetorically. She was clearly unprepared for the forest of hands which sprang up but she had her written speech before her so she went on rather lamely to say, "But if I gave you Webster's definition, I'm sure you would all think of yourselves as feminists." Her audience already did. They saw the conference as a place to pool information and resources. Without exception many of the conferees with whom I talked had questions about the purpose of the conference but all of them appreciated the opportunity to come together to meet other women, to learn what the fruits of cooperation might be. *Good Housekeeping* may be purveying the best dream of all—that of women really getting together to face up to whether our system has betrayed them or not, what to do about it, and how to do it.

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

REVIEWERS

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DENNIS VELLUCCI served as a student intern at *Commonwealth* in 1975.

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 261*)

Certainly, those weighted with the first insights into the evil of America's

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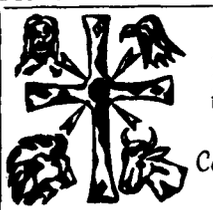

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Vietnam involvement would have been morally negligent if they had quieted their immediate concerns or compromised their long-range objectives in the face of a misinformed though strong public opinion.

It is not too difficult to undertake the unpopular cause, nurturing the desired consensus, when consoled by the knowledge that one suffers one's dissenter status in the company of society's most enlightened. It seems, however, that when the practical politics of abortion require Catholic liberals to abandon comfortable ideological milieus the quixoticism vanishes. Rubing elbows with the modern heirs to the Inquisition is pretty distasteful even for the sake of protecting human rights. Lives may be at stake but who wants to associate with those who give Catholicism a name which the Church progressives spend half their day dispelling.

Concerning the hierarchy and the 1976 campaigns, the foolishness of the shepherds need not be imitated by the flock. If the bishops have committed themselves to an exercise in political ineptitude in order to exhibit the survival of old-time pulpit-power we need not follow suit. Still, the concerned laity does not owe it to balance ecclesiastical fanaticism with their own defeatism. Much warranted apologies for the political and social offenses of individuals such as Cardinal Cooke should not be served through a sacrifice of genuine Christian imperatives.

It seems naive to believe that one can in the name of pluralism, remain a willing captive of *Roe v. Wade*'s viability-based criterion for human rights and then go on to defend the vulnerable and oppressed with consistency, credibility, and integrity intact.

KEVIN M. DOYLE

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